

*U.S. Congress*

**INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA  
ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES** *PT. 2*

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**HEARINGS**

BEFORE THE

**COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES  
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES**

**EIGHTIETH CONGRESS**

**FIRST SESSION**

**ON**

**H. R. 1884 and H. R. 2122**

**BILLS TO CURB OR OUTLAW THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF THE UNITED STATES**

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**PART 2**

**TESTIMONY OF J. EDGAR HOOVER, DIRECTOR  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

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**MARCH 26, 1947**

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## INVESTIGATION OF UN-AMERICAN PROPAGANDA ACTIVITIES IN THE UNITED STATES

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 26, 1947

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,  
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,  
*Washington, D. C.*

The committee resumed at 3:45 p. m., Hon. J. Parnell Thomas (chairman) presiding.

The following members were present: Hon. Karl E. Mundt, Hon. Richard M. Nixon, Hon. Richard B. Vail, Hon. J. Hardin Peterson, and Hon. Herbert C. Bonner.

Staff members present: Robert E. Stripling, chief investigator; Louis J. Russell and Donald T. Appell, investigators.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

The Chair wishes to announce that the next witness before the committee will be Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Mr. Hoover has been invited to appear before the committee to give his views on the subject of communism and how it can best be dealt with. The threat presents not only a domestic problem, but an international problem. It is to my mind the most serious threat facing the world today. The Committee on Un-American Activities, therefore, welcomes Mr. Hoover's testimony today because we are sure that he can furnish information and suggestions which will be most helpful to the committee in reporting legislation to the House.

I will now ask Mr. Hoover to take the stand and be sworn.

(The witness was duly sworn by the chairman.)

The CHAIRMAN. Thank you, Mr. Hoover.

Mr. HOOVER. May I proceed now, Mr. Chairman?

The CHAIRMAN. Yes.

Mr. HOOVER. The aims and responsibilities of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Federal Bureau of Investigation are the same—the protection of the internal security of this Nation. The methods whereby this goal may be accomplished differ, however.

I have always felt that the greatest contribution this committee could make is the public disclosure of the forces that menace America—Communist and Fascist. That is why the venom of the American Communist and the now defunct German-American Bund has been directed at this committee as it has also been directed at the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This committee renders a distinct service when it publicly reveals the diabolic machinations of sinister figures engaged in un-American activities.

The role of the FBI: The FBI has great responsibilities to the Nation. In addition to being charged—

with the duty of investigating violations of the laws of the United States, collecting evidence in cases in which the United States is or may be a party in interest and performing other duties imposed \* \* \* by law—

the FBI has been charged by Presidential directive, dated September 6, 1939—

to take charge of investigative work in matters relating to espionage, sabotage \* \* \*

In implementing this charge the President called upon all law-enforcement officers to promptly—

turn over to the nearest representative of the Federal Bureau of Investigation any information obtained by them relating to espionage, counterespionage, sabotage, subversive activities \* \* \*

The FBI is essentially an investigative agency. It is our duty to get the facts. We do not establish policies—that is the responsibility of higher authority. We do not make decisions as to prosecutions—that is the responsibility of the Attorney General, his assistants, and the various United States attorneys.

To the end that our responsibilities may be discharged it is necessary not to lose sight of the fact that our chief responsibility is the duty to obtain information and to protect confidence. Thus, when a citizen furnishes information on a confidential basis his confidence must be respected. In any intelligence operation, security of information is of primary concern. I recall in the prewar years that the FBI was criticized on the ill-founded premise that nothing was being done to meet the Nazi-Fascist-Japanism threat to our internal security. The real facts are now a matter of record. What was being done, and done successfully, could not then be discussed and publicized. When the time came to act the FBI was fully prepared to carry out its responsibilities. There was not one successful enemy-directed act of sabotage during the war and enemy espionage was kept under complete control.

In one of our espionage cases, a spy ring was kept under close surveillance for over 18 months. The arrests when made broke the backbone of the Nazi spy system in America. I shudder at what might have happened had there been a disclosure of our operations and our sources of information in the initial days of that investigation. That was the very time we were most criticized for inaction. I hope this committee will understand our situation and I know you will readily agree that there are many questions that you might like to raise which I would for obvious reasons be unable to answer in a public hearing.

The Communist Party: My feelings concerning the Communist Party of the United States are well known. I have not hesitated over the years to express my concern and apprehension. As a consequence its professional smear brigades have conducted a relentless assault against the FBI. You who have been members of this committee also know the fury with which the party, its sympathizers and fellow travelers can launch an assault. I do not mind such attacks. What has been disillusioning is the manner in which they have been able to enlist support often from apparently well-meaning but thoroughly duped persons.

Anyone who opposes the American Communist is at once branded as a "disrupter," a "Fascist," a "Red baiter," or a "Hitlerite," and becomes the object of a systematic campaign of character assassination. This is easily understood because the basic tactics of the Communist Party are deceit and trickery.

The great god of the American Communists, Comrade Lenin—whose writings are their Bible—in various speeches and writings urged the use of deceit and trickery and his converts live by his injunction:

The strictest loyalty to the ideas of communism must be combined with the ability to make all necessary practical compromises, to maneuver, to make agreements, zig-zags, retreats and so on, so as to accelerate the coming to power \* \* \* (Left-Wing Communism, An Infantile Disorder, pp. 75-76, V. I. Lenin, International Publishers Co., Inc., 1940).

Lenin's views were incorporated in the Thesis on the Fundamental Tasks of the Second Congress of the Communist International and the following provision is familiar to all American Communists:

In all countries, even the freest, "legal and peaceful" in the sense that the class struggle is less acute in them, the time has fully matured when it is absolutely necessary for every Communist Party systematically to combine legal with illegal work, legal with illegal organization. \* \* \* It is necessary, immediately, for all legal Communist parties to form illegal organizations. \* \* \* Illegal work is particularly necessary in the Army, the Navy, and police. \* \* \*

Continuing, the thesis states:

The absolute necessity in principle of combining illegal with legal work is determined, not only by the sum total of the specific features of the present period, the period of the eve of the proletarian dictatorship, but also by the necessity of proving to the bourgeoisie that there is not, nor can there be, a sphere or field of work that cannot be won by the Communists (Vol. X, Selected Works of Lenin, pp. 172-173; International Publishers Company, Inc., 1943).

The Communist movement in the United States began to manifest itself in 1919. Since then it has changed its name and its party line whenever expedient and tactical. But always it comes back to fundamentals and bills itself as the party of Marxism-Leninism. As such, it stands for the destruction of our American form of government; it stands for the destruction of American democracy; it stands for the destruction of free enterprise; and it stands for the creation of a "Soviet of the United States" and ultimate world revolution.

The historic mission: The preamble of the latest constitution of the Communist Party of the United States, filled with Marxian "double talk," proclaims that the party "educates the working class, in the course of its day-to-day struggles, for its historic mission, the establishment of socialism."

The phrase "historic mission" has a sinister meaning. To the uninformed person it bespeaks tradition, but to the Communist, using his own words, it is "achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat"; "to throw off the yoke of imperialism and establish the proletarian dictatorship"; "to raise these revolutionary forces to the surface and hurl them like a devastating avalanche upon the united forces of bourgeois reaction, frenzied at the presentment of their rapidly approaching doom."

In recent years, the Communists have been very cautious about using such phrases as "force and violence"; nevertheless, it is the subject of much discussion in their schools and in party caucus where they readily admit that the only way in which they can defeat the present ruling class is by world revolution.

The Communist, once he is fully trained and indoctrinated, realizes that he can create his order in the United States only by "bloody revolution."

Their chief textbook, *The History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, is used as a basis for planning their revolution. Their tactics require that to be successful they must have:

1. The will and sympathy of the people. .
2. Military aid and assistance.
3. Plenty of guns and ammunition.
4. A program for extermination of the police as they are the most important enemy and are termed "trained Fascists."
5. Seizure of all communications, busses, railroads, radio stations, and other forms of communications and transportation.

They evade the question of force and violence publicly. They hold that when Marxists speak of force and violence they will not be responsible—that force and violence will be the responsibility of their enemies. They adopt the novel premise that they do not advocate force and violence publicly but that when their class resists to defend themselves then they are thus accused of using force and violence. A lot of double talk.

Party found illegal: On May 28, 1942, Hon. Francis Biddle, then Attorney General, in reviewing the deportation proceedings of Harry Bridges, found that the Communist Party from the time of its inception in 1919 believes in, advises, advocates, and teaches the overthrow by force and violence of the Government of the United States.

Since then, much has happened. In 1944, the party dissolved and became the Communist Political Association. The constitution of the new CPA in 1944 omitted reference to "Leninism" and the "historic mission." That was the era when Browder was preaching a second front and all-out production. But, even then, they secretly held to their historic mission, for in an injunction to party members, Eugene Dennis, with many aliases, now general secretary of the party, said:

Irrespective of name, we are and shall continue to be an American working class political organization, guided by the science of Marxism-Leninism.

But that era was short-lived. Immediately after Jacques Duclos, the French Communist leader, blasted the American Communists as deserting the Marxian cause, Browder was repudiated, the CPA was relegated to oblivion and the present Communist Party of the United States was reborn. A new constitution, adopted in July 1945, as I have already indicated, referred to the party as basing itself "upon the principles of scientific socialism, Marxism-Leninism" and reincorporated the reference to the party's "historic mission."

In establishing the party's illegal character in 1942, the then Attorney General Biddle based his findings on the contents of the same Communist publications which today are being sold and circulated in party circles in the United States. The American Communist, like the leopard, cannot change his spots.

The party line: The Communist Party line changes from day to day. The one cardinal rule that can always be applied to what the party line is or will be is found in the fundamental principle of Communist teachings that the support of Soviet Russia is the duty of Communists of all countries.

One thing is certain. The American progress which all good citizens seek, such as old-age security, houses for veterans, child assistance and a host of others is being adopted as window dressing by the Communists to conceal their true aims and entrap gullible followers.

The record of the American Communists conclusively proves their true feelings. In the prewar days, when they were allied with Hitler, they marched on Washington protesting Selective Service, Lend-Lease, shouting "The Yanks are not coming." The American Peace Mobilization picketed the White House until the day before the Nazis marched into Russia and then within less than a month reconverted it into the American People's Mobilization, demanded all-out production, and started the chant for the second front.

We are witnessing the same tactics today. Since Secretary Schwelmbach advocated outlawing the Communist Party, and President Truman called for aid to Greece and Turkey, the Communists have been mobilizing, promoting mass meetings, sending telegrams and letters to exert pressure on Congress. The American Communists fail to realize that already they have outlawed themselves in the minds and hearts of loyal Americans.

The mad march of Red fascism is a cause for concern in America. But the deceit, the trickery, and the lies of the American Communists are catching up with them. Whenever the spotlight of truth is focused upon them they cry, "Red baiting." Now that their aims and objectives are being exposed they are creating a Committee for the Constitutional Rights of Communists, and are feverishly working to build up what they term a quarter-million-dollar defense fund to place ads in papers, to publish pamphlets, to buy radio time. They know that today it is a fight to the finish and that their backs will soon be to the wall.

Strength of the party: A few days ago word leaked out that the annual Communist convention scheduled to be held in Chicago had been shifted from July to September in order that they might carry on their campaign of obstruction to American foreign policy and increase their membership. They have been conducting an active membership campaign as the leadership is concerned over the manner in which membership has slipped.

The numerical strength of the party's enrolled membership is insignificant. But it is well known that there are many actual members who because of their position are not carried on party rolls.

New York leads in the number of enrolled party members (30,000), followed by California (8,553); Illinois (6,500); Ohio (3,838); Oregon (3,654); Washington (2,752); New Jersey (2,487) and Michigan (2,135). The Daily Worker boasts of 74,000 members on the rolls.

What is important is the claim of the Communists themselves that for every party member there are 10 others ready, willing, and able to do the party's work. Herein lies the greatest menace of communism. For these are the people who infiltrate and corrupt various spheres of American life. So rather than the size of the Communist Party the way to weigh its true importance is by testing its influence, its ability to infiltrate.

The size of the party is relatively unimportant because of the enthusiasm and iron-clad discipline under which they operate. In this connection, it might be of interest to observe that in 1917 when the Communists overthrew the Russian Government there was one Com-

munist for every 2,277 persons in Russia. In the United States today there is one Communist for every 1,814 persons in the country.

One who accepts the aims, principles, and program of the party, who attends meetings, who reads the party press and literature, who pays dues and who is active on behalf of the party "shall be considered a member." The open, avowed Communist who carries a card and pays dues is no different from a security standpoint than the person who does the party's work but pays no dues, carries no card and is not on the party rolls. In fact, the latter is a greater menace because of his opportunity to work in stealth.

Identifying undercover Communists, fellow travelers, and sympathizers: The burden of proof is placed upon those who consistently follow the ever-changing, twisting party line. Fellow travelers and sympathizers can deny party membership but they can never escape the undeniable fact that they have played into the Communist hands, thus furthering the Communist cause by playing the role of innocent, gullible, or willful allies.

Propaganda activities: The Communists have developed one of the greatest propaganda machines the world has ever known. They have been able to penetrate and infiltrate many respectable and reputable public opinion mediums.

They capitalize upon ill-founded charges associating known honest progressive liberals with left-wing causes. I have always entertained the view that there are few appellations more degrading than "Communist" and hence it should be reserved for those justly deserving the degradation.

The Communist propaganda technique is designed to promote emotional response with the hope that the victim will be attracted by what he is told the Communist way of life holds in store for him. The objective, of course, is to develop discontent and hasten the day when the Communists can gather sufficient support and following to overthrow the American way of life.

Communist propaganda is always slanted in the hope that the Communist may be aligned with liberal progressive causes. The honest liberal and progressive should be alert to this, and I believe the Communists' most effective foes can be the real liberals and progressives who understand their devious machinations.

The deceptiveness of Communist "double talk" fulfills the useful propaganda technique of confusion. In fact, Lenin referred to their peculiar brand of phraseology as " \* \* \* that cursed Assopian language \* \* \* which \* \* \* compelled all revolutionaries to have recourse, whenever they took up their pens to write a legal work."

Lenin used it for the purpose of avoiding "censorship." Communists today use it to mislead the public.

The use of the term "democracy" by the Communists, we have learned to our sorrow, does not have the meaning to them that it does to us. To them it means communism and totalitarianism and our understanding of the term is regarded by them as imperialistic and Fascist.

The Daily Worker on Independence Day last year, for example, proclaimed:

It is a dramatic fact that on July 4, 1946, the independence of other countries is menaced by the United States in the grip of trusts and Tories.



Correspondence campaigns: Communists and their followers are prolific letter writers and some of the more energetic ones follow the practice of directing numerous letters of protest to editors but signing a different name to each.

Members of Congress are well aware of Communists starting their pressure campaigns by an avalanche of mail which follows the party line.

Radio: The party has departed from depending upon the printed word as its medium of propaganda and has taken to the air. Its members and sympathizers have not only infiltrated the airways but they are now persistently seeking radio channels.

Motion pictures: The American Communists launched a furtive attack on Hollywood in 1935 by the issuance of a directive calling for a concentration in Hollywood. The orders called for action on two fronts. (1) An effort to infiltrate the labor unions; (2) infiltrate the so-called intellectual and creative fields.

In movie circles, Communists developed an effective defense a few years ago in meeting criticism. They would counter with the question, "After all, what is the matter with communism?" It was effective because many persons did not possess adequate knowledge of the subject to give an intelligent answer.

Some producers and studio heads realize the possibility that the entire industry faces serious embarrassment because it could become a springboard for Communist activities. Communist activity in Hollywood is effective and is furthered by Communists and sympathizers using the prestige of prominent persons to serve, often unwittingly, the Communist cause.

The party is content and highly pleased if it is possible to have inserted in a picture a line, a scene, a sequence, conveying the Communist lesson, and more particularly, if they can keep out anti-Communist lessons.

Infiltration: The Communist tactic of infiltrating labor unions stems from the earliest teachings of Marx, which have been reiterated by party spokesmen down through the years. They resort to all means to gain their point and often succeed in penetrating and literally taking over labor unions before the rank and file of members are aware of what has occurred.

With few exceptions the following admonitions of Lenin have been followed:

It is necessary to be able to withstand all this, to agree to any and every sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to all sorts of devices, maneuvers, and illegal methods, to evasion and subterfuge, in order to penetrate into the trade-unions, to remain in them, and to carry on Communist work in them at all costs (p. 38. *Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*. V. I. Lenin, 1934, International Publishers Co., Inc.).

I am convinced that the great masses of union men and women are patriotic American citizens interested chiefly in security for their families and themselves. They have no use for the American Communists but in those instances where Communists have taken control of unions, it has been because too many union men and women have been outwitted, outmaneuvered, and outwaited by Communists.

The Communists have never relied on numerical strength to dominate a labor organization. Through infiltration tactics they have in too many instances captured positions of authority. Communists

have boasted that with 5 percent of the membership the Communists, with their military, superior organizational ability and discipline, could control the union.

They regard as political every movement of the working class which seeks to gain concessions by exerting pressure from without as a political movement. Thus, as Lenin puts it:

The economic strike develops into a political strike and the latter develops into insurrection (p. 12, *Left-Wing Communism* \* \* \* V. I. Lenin, 1934, International Publishers Co., Inc.).

That the Communists feel themselves ordained for a special mission in penetrating labor is revealed by the statement made by Eugene Dennis, general secretary of the Communist Party of U. S. A., at a recent party meeting. "No trade union or people's organization," he said, "not even the great CIO, could long remain progressive if it were to exclude or to attack Communists."

The Communists have long viewed with envy the A. F. of L. They admit they play a very small role with only a handful of Communists active in the A. F. of L. locals. Recently there has been agitation in the party to reorganize to influence the A. F. of L.

A few months ago a party functionary said it was imperative that 3,000 party members be infiltrated into the A. F. of L. without publicizing this fact. They say this action is necessary because of the danger of a third world war and the need to fulfill the Communist plan of creating a third party.

If more union members took a more active role and asserted themselves it would become increasingly difficult for Communists to gain control. Patriotic union members can easily spot sympathizers and party members in conventions and union meetings because invariably the latter strive to establish the party line instead of serving the best interests of the union and the country.

Foreign language groups: The party for the past 18 months has been giving special attention to foreign-language groups and has called for a sweeping self-critical examination of its work in this field. As long ago as 1945, in urging the importance of penetrating these groups, party leaders said, "We need only mention the Polish, Italian, Yugoslav, and Greek questions," and in characteristic party double talk observed that they occupied an important relationship "to the entire democratic camp and to the broader peoples movements." In other words, the Communists now seek strength from foreign groups who may have relatives in countries which Russia seeks to influence.

Government: The recent Canadian spy trials revealed the necessity of alertness in keeping Communists and sympathizers out of Government services. In fact, the high command of the Communist Party regards such assignments of sufficient importance to demand that party members not contact fellow members in the Government and if such Government employees are carried on party rolls at all they are assigned an alias. Last fall a high-ranking party leader instructed that all party membership cards of Government employees be destroyed and that party organizational meetings in Government circles are too obvious to mention.

There has developed, however, as a result of Communist propaganda, some fanciful feeling among Communists that no distinction

should be drawn and that Communists have a right to Government jobs. I disagree in that.

Since July 1, 1941, the FBI has investigated 6,193 cases under the Hatch Act, which forbids membership upon the part of any Government employee in any organization advocating the overthrow of the Government of the United States.

For the purpose of investigation the Attorney General has ruled that a number of organizations in addition to the Communist Party are subversive under the Hatch Act because of Communist influence.

One hundred and one Federal employees were discharged as a result of our investigation, 21 resigned during the investigation, and in 75 cases administrative action was taken by the departments. A total of 1,906 individuals are no longer employed in the Government while 122 cases are presently pending consideration in the various Government agencies.

The FBI does not make recommendations; it merely reports facts, and it is up to the interested Government department to make a decision. Almost invariably, of course, subjects of investigations deny affiliation with subversive groups, often despite strong evidence to the contrary.

The following is a case in point:

The FBI submitted a 57-page report to the Federal Security Agency on March 7, 1942, on Doxey Wilkerson. The investigation recorded interviews with persons who stated he was a member of the Communist Party. Following the submission of the report we were advised by the Federal Security Agency that further investigation failed to show that Wilkerson was "subversive or disloyal to our Government." Wilkerson subsequently transferred to OPA and resigned on June 19, 1943. Within less than 24 hours he announced his new job as "a Communist Party organizer." He was subsequently appointed a member of the national committee of the Communist Party. To be eligible for service in the national committee one "must have been a member of the party in continuous good standing for at least 4 years."

Mass and front organizations: The united-front program of the Communist Party was launched at the seventh world congress of the Communist International in 1935. The Communist Party in the United States immediately took up the program and a systematic plan was worked out of infiltrating existing organizations with Communists.

For the most part, front organizations assumed the character of either a mass or membership organization or a paper organization. Both solicited and used names of prominent persons. Literally hundreds of groups and organizations have either been infiltrated or organized primarily to accomplish the purposes of promoting the interests of the Soviet Union in the United States, the promotion of Soviet war and peace aims, the exploitation of Negroes in the United States, work among foreign-language groups, and to secure a favorable viewpoint toward the Communists in domestic, political, social, and economic issues.

The first requisite for front organizations is an idealistic sounding title. Hundreds of such organizations have come into being and have gone out of existence when their true purposes have become known or exposed while others with high-sounding names are continually springing up.

I want to refer to one.

The American Youth for Democracy: Illustrative of how the Communists bury one organization and conceive another is the Young Communist League. In convention assembled in New York City, the Young Communist League was dissolved on October 16, 1943, and the next day the American Youth for Democracy was born.

At first the Communists denied paternity for the AYD, but in April of 1946 the party's national board indicated that the AYD was the successor to the YCL. William Z. Foster, the Communist Party head, at the AYD national intercollegiate conference in New York City in 1945, told the delegates in the concluding session that, "The atomic age is the age of socialism, of communism. This is the greatest lesson that the youth of America has to learn." This new front set up youth centers ostensibly to combat juvenile delinquency. More properly, these center could be termed Communist youth recruiting centers.

The test of a front organization: I feel that this committee could render a great service to the Nation through its power of exposure in quickly spotlighting existing front organizations and those which will be created in the future.

There are easy tests to establish the real character of such organizations:

1. Does the group espouse the cause of Americanism or the cause of Soviet Russia?

2. Does the organization feature as speakers at its meetings known Communists, sympathizers, or fellow travelers?

3. Does the organization shift when the party line shifts?

4. Does the organization sponsor causes, campaigns, literature, petitions, or other activities sponsored by the party or other front organizations?

5. Is the organization used as a sounding board by or is it endorsed by Communist-controlled labor unions?

6. Does its literature follow the Communist line or is it printed by the Communist press?

7. Does the organization receive consistent favorable mention in Communist publications?

8. Does the organization present itself to be nonpartisan yet engage in political activities and consistently advocate causes favored by the Communists?

9. Does the organization denounce American and British foreign policy while always lauding Soviet policy?

10. Does the organization utilize Communist "double talk" by referring to Soviet-dominated countries as democracies, complaining that the United States is imperialistic and constantly denouncing monopoly-capital?

11. Have outstanding leaders in public life openly renounced affiliation with the organization?

12. Does the organization, if espousing liberal progressive causes, attract well-known honest patriotic liberals or does it denounce well-known liberals?

13. Does the organization have a consistent record of supporting the American viewpoint over the years?

14. Does the organization consider matters not directly related to its avowed purposes and objectives?

National defense: The Communist Party of the United States is a fifth column if there ever was one. It is far better organized than were the Nazis in occupied countries prior to their capitulation.

They are seeking to weaken America just as they did in their era of obstruction when they were alined with the Nazis. Their goal is the overthrow of our Government.

There is no doubt as to where a real Communist's loyalty rests. Their allegiance is to Russia, not the United States.

A top functionary of the Communist Party recently said:

A war by the United States against the U. S. S. R. would be an unjust war, which is why it must be fought against, but that if it should come the Communist Party in the United States would be with Russia, and make no mistake about that.

In another section of the country another Communist leader made the following statement:

I believe that everyone should know that we are for Russia and if need be we will die for the cause. I don't mean that war with Russia is coming soon; I hope not, so that Russia will be better prepared.

What to do: What can we do? And what should be our course of action? The best antidote to communism is vigorous, intelligent, old-fashioned Americanism with eternal vigilance. I do not favor any course of action which would give the Communists cause to portray and pity themselves as martyrs. I do favor unrelenting prosecution wherever they are found to be violating our country's laws.

As Americans, our most effective defense is a workable democracy that guarantees and preserves our cherished freedoms.

I would have no fears if more Americans possessed the zeal, the fervor, the persistence, and the industry to learn about this menace of Red fascism. I do fear for the liberal and progressive who has been hoodwinked and duped into joining hands with the Communists. I confess to a real apprehension so long as Communists are able to secure ministers of the gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism. I do fear so long as school boards and parents tolerate conditions whereby Communists and fellow travelers, under the guise of academic freedom, can teach our youth a way of life that eventually will destroy the sanctity of the home, that undermine faith in God, that causes them to scorn respect for constituted authority and sabotage our revered Constitution.

I do fear so long as American labor groups are infiltrated, dominated or saturated with the virus of communism. I do fear the palliation and weasel-worded gestures against communism indulged in by some of our labor leaders who should know better but who have become pawns in the hands of sinister but astute manipulations for the Communist cause.

I fear for ignorance on the part of all our people who may take the poisonous pills of Communist propaganda.

I am deeply concerned whenever I think of the words of an old-time Communist. Disillusioned, disgusted and frightened he came to us with his story and concluded:

God help America or any other country if the Communist Party ever gets strong enough to control labor and politics.

God help us all!

The Communists have been, still are, and always will be a menace to freedom, to democratic ideals, to the worship of God and to America's way of life.

I feel that once public opinion is thoroughly aroused as it is today, the fight against communism is well on its way. Victory will be assured inee Communists are identified and exposed, because the public will take the first step of quarantining them so they can do no harm. Communism, in reality, is not a political party. It is a way of life—an evil and malignant way of life. It reveals a condition akin to disease that spreads like an epidemic and like an epidemic a quarantine is necessary to keep it from infecting the Nation.

That concludes my statement, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hoover, the Chair wishes to express for the committee our deep appreciation for your acceptance of our invitation to come here today. There is no question but what the fact that your statement was broadcast over a national hook-up aided us in doing the thing that you say is our chief mission, that is, exposure. We all hope that this will just be a continuation of an era of cooperation between the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Un-American Activities Committee of the House of Representatives.

Mr. HOOVER. That is, sincerely, my wish also, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Now, Mr. Hoover, if it meets with your pleasure, the members of the committee would like to ask questions.

Mr. HOOVER. I would be very glad to answer any questions that I can.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Mundt.

Mr. MUNDT. Let me say first of all, Mr. Hoover, that I have read all of your speeches and articles on this subject which you correctly refer to as Red Fascism and I have profited from them all, but I think that today you have made the most masterful and conclusive statement of your career on the subject of this very definite menace.

Mr. HOOVER. I thank you very much. Thank you.

Mr. MUNDT. We have had witnesses before this committee during the past few days, and, for that matter, during the past few years, who have said, in one way or another, that the Communist Party in America, and in all countries, is under the direction of the central party headquarters in Moscow. I take it that you agree thoroughly with that point of view?

Mr. HOOVER. Mr. Mundt, I might say that at least for the last several years the direction of Communist activity has emanated from Paris with a very definite pipe line into Moscow. By reason of matters of expediency they have dropped, for the time being at least, much of this activity from Paris, that emanated from there, although they have a direct tie-up to the Communist headquarters in Moscow.

Mr. MUNDT. I think you are absolutely right when you say that the greatest effective force against communism in this country could be the so-called liberal and progressive forces, in part because that seems to be the territory in which the Communists concentrate their efforts.

Mr. HOOVER. Yes.

Mr. MUNDT. I wonder if you would agree, however, that in order for these liberal and progressive forces to be that effective bulwark against communism, it is necessary for them to take vigorous and

active steps to expose and defeat the activities of Communists, and not simply to damn communism with faint praise, as some have done in the past?

Mr. HOOVER. I feel that the very work which this committee has performed, and is performing, serves as a medium of material for such groups in the country to carry on a militant campaign of exposure of these Communist activities. I very strongly feel that the sincere liberal is as anxious as anyone else to drive out of the ranks of liberal organizations Communists who have infiltrated. Often he does not know their identities and often does not know the purposes with which they are actuated. He can obtain much of that by the work this committee has done, and I assume will continue to do, in focusing the spotlight on those groups and individuals who are traveling under some other label than what they really are represented to be in a liberal group.

Mr. MUNDT. Your statement that the activities of Communists in the motion-picture industry were directed toward two objectives was extremely interesting to me, the one objective being to put into the film when they can a line or a sequence which is pro-Communist and an equally determined effort to keep out of any film anything which is anti-Communist.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct.

Mr. MUNDT. I am going to ask you—I am not going to ask you to comment on that, but I want to make an observation in that connection and say that it is unfortunate, but I think demonstrable and true that the Communists have been successful at least in the latter part of their goal, in keeping out of the American films anythings that is anti-Communist. We have had too many examples of pro-Communist films, such as the Mission to Moscow.

Mr. HOOVER. That was a prostitution of historical fact.

Mr. MUNDT. That is correct. One other statement, Mr. Hoover. On page 14, you state the the Attorney General has ruled that a number of organizations in addition to the Communist party are subversive. I know that is correct and we know the identity of those organizations, but I think it would be helpful for the record and in connection with the new program under the President's directive of last Saturday if you would supply the committee with an official letter in which you list those organizations so that they will be incorporated in this part of the testimony today.

Mr. Hoover. I will be very glad to make that request of the Attorney General. It will have to come from his office.

Mr. MUNDT. Thank you, sir.

Mr. HOOVER. Thank you, indeed, Mr. Mundt.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. McDowell.

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Chairman, I merely want to compliment this great American public servant for a very substantial contribution to good government. Thank you, sir.

Mr. HOOVER. I thank you very much, indeed, Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Nixon.

Mr. NIXON. Mr. Hoover, you have named a number of areas in which Communists have infiltrated and are attempting to dominate institutions in our country. In your opinion is there any one area which should deserve the attention of this committee more than other area?

Is there any one area in which the Communists are more dangerous and more deeply entrenched than any other?

Mr. HOOVER. No. I would certainly think that this committee would approach the inquiry into those fields which mold public opinion and in which Communists have been successful in effecting infiltration, such as the radio, the motion pictures. I also feel that any infiltration into the youth movement, such as establishing on campuses of our various colleges and universities, branches of organizations that are conceived and born by the Communist Party, should be gone into by the committee and the spotlight focused on them.

The reason I say that is last year I had occasion to make a speech in which I referred to a particular group and I received a large number of letters from students of various universities in the country inquiring of me as to exactly what it was. They had joined, did not know what it was, they were good, fine young men and women, loyal Americans, but they had been trapped into it—because one of the great weaknesses of all Americans, whether adult or youth, is to join something.

I think for that reason this committee might well focus the spotlight on those elements that mold public opinion and those elements that deal with youth, because that is where the greatest harm can be done. It has already done an excellent job on focusing attention on activities of Communists in the Government, and I think probably we are well on the way to rid ourselves of that virus in the Government service.

Mr. NIXON. Speaking of Communists in the Government service, a considerable amount of opposition has arisen to the President's order from some quarters on the ground that proper safeguards for persons who are accused of being disloyal are not set up in the order. You, of course, are familiar with the order, because the Federal Bureau of Investigation had a great deal to do with furnishing the information. One of the criticisms that has been made is that the accused does not have the opportunity to be confronted with the witnesses against him, that he does not have the right to a jury trial. Will you comment briefly on whether or not you feel that proper safeguards are set up in the order?

Mr. HOOVER. I most certainly feel that proper safeguards are set up. In the first place, a position with the Government is a privilege and not a right. That must be kept in mind as a fundamental. So far as the order is concerned, it provides for a hearing, appeals, they may be represented by counsel, they must be confronted with the evidence, the charges, and those details as to the disclosure of the sources of information. That will be done in every case except where to disclose the source would be a matter affecting the security of the country. Obviously we would not for one moment disclose the identity of a confidant, however, because it would prevent usefulness in the future, and might endanger his life.

I think some of the rumpus that has been raised, and some of the shouting, has been not so much a concern for their so-called constitutional rights and privileges, but more to try to force a disclosure of sources of information by elements that are particularly un-American who still may be in the Government service. I suspect those shouts and screams from that source particularly.

Mr. NIXON. In other words, this argument made that "We want to be confronted by the witnesses——"



Mr. HOOVER. I think that, very frankly, is an untenable position.

Mr. NIXON. Earlier today this committee had before it a man that you mentioned in your statement—Eugene Dennis. He refused to answer a question which was put to him by the chairman of the committee and by our Chief Investigator as to what his real name was.

Mr. HOOVER. Well, he has a number of them.

Mr. NIXON. He had, apparently had good reason for refusing to give his real name.

Mr. HOOVER. That is very true. He is known as Francis Eugene Waldron; alias Francis Xavier Waldron, Jr.; alias Eugene Dennis; alias F. E. W. Dennis; alias Gene Dennis; alias Paul Eugene Walsh; and alias Milton.

Those are the names we have discovered up to date about that gentleman.

Mr. BONNER. Is he a naturalized citizen?

Mr. NIXON. I think he is a resident of the State of Wisconsin.

Mr. HOOVER. Born in Seattle on August 10, 1905. Born in this country.

Mr. NIXON. Just one last question, Mr. Hoover. You mentioned some rather astounding statistics in your report here, in which you have indicated that at the present time in the United States the percentage of Communists compared with the percentage of citizens is greater than the percentage of Communists in Russia at the time that the Russian people turned to communism.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct.

Mr. NIXON. Now, obviously, our form of government in the United States is much stronger than the form of government which existed in Russia at the time that communism took over there, but nevertheless, would you comment on this point: Having in mind the infiltration of Communists as we have it in America today, without doing anything further about it, to expose them, to drive them out of labor unions, out of Government, out of our other institutions, do you see a real present danger to this country in the event of a conflict with the followers of communism in Europe and in Russia?

Mr. HOOVER. I most certainly do, Congressman.

I would like to answer the first part of your statement concerning the statistics which I submitted.

While it is true that the percentage of Communists to citizens in this country today is greater than there was in Russia at the time of the revolution, I do not for one moment hold to the opinion that any revolution could be effected by that group.

I cited those figures, however, because of the constant deprecation by some of these fellow travelers, who are always deprecating the fact that the Communist Party is a very small group and therefore we shouldn't bother with it. You shouldn't give any attention to it. That is adhered to by some individuals who are not Communists in any sense of the word, but who that I prefer to refer to as so-called innocents. They haven't yet learned the facts of life, so far as that particular activity is concerned.

Now, so far as the danger in this country is concerned, in case of any conflict with a foreign country, there is no question but that any divided loyalty of any kind to any other country is a serious menace to the security of this country.

I think it was clearly shown in the early days of the war. We had two very serious strikes, one in Los Angeles and one in Wisconsin, which were largely instituted by Communist groups.

As soon as the shift in alliance of great powers came about and Hitler was separated from the alliance with Stalin, those strikes faded out and were discontinued.

Now, you well know from the investigations that this committee have already made that there are officers in charge of certain great unions in this country dealing with transportation, communications, and other various phases that are very vital to our structure, who are Communists, and could therefore bring about a general strike, if they so desired. That is the danger.

As I said in the statement, it is the infiltration and their influence that is the real test of the menace, and I think it is a serious menace today.

MR. NIXON. Does the Federal Bureau of Investigation have cognizance of the Panama Canal Zone?

MR. HOOVER. No, we do not. That is not under our jurisdiction. That is under the supervision of the Military Intelligence Division of the Army.

MR. NIXON. And does the Justice Department at the present time publish from time to time lists of the currently active Communist-front organizations, as you have found them to be?

MR. HOOVER. That I do not believe has been done.

MR. NIXON. Don't you feel that it should be done?

MR. HOOVER. That is a matter of policy, on which I would not prefer to pass. That is really a matter of policy, for the Attorney General.

MR. NIXON. I see. Thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN. Mr. Vail.

MR. VAIL. Mr. Hoover, you are familiar, no doubt, with the existence of the Lenin School at Moscow, with its course of instruction in sabotage, espionage, and propaganda?

MR. HOOVER. I am.

MR. VAIL. Has that school its counterpart or counterparts in this country?

MR. HOOVER. Well, some of the individuals of the Communist Party in this country have gone there for training and have returned to this country, and there have been set up in this country schools that carry on comparable instruction in Marxism and communism to be applied in the United States.

MR. VAIL. There has been no effort on the part of the authorities to prevent the functioning of those schools?

MR. HOOVER. No, there has been no effort to close those schools. It would probably have to come under some local ordinance or some local State law.

MR. VAIL. You know that we are considering here certain laws to outlaw communism. I don't believe in the course of our discussion today you have covered whether or not you favor such legislation.

MR. HOOVER. Well, Mr. Congressman, within the Department of Justice the question as to the desirability or the undesirability of legislation is strictly a function for the Attorney General.

I will say this, as regards that point: I do think that before any such action is taken it ought to be given very, very serious considera-

tion and study, because I would hate to see a group that does not deserve to be in the category of martyrs have the self-pity that they would at once invoke if they were made martyrs, by some restrictive legislation that might later be declared unconstitutional.

I frankly feel that such laws as we have now should be vigorously enforced, and maybe some of them strengthened.

I think the activity of this committee to expose and to bring out into the spotlight the activity of these individuals can do far more good, at least at the present time, than any very restrictive legislation.

I wouldn't want to say that I am unalterably opposed to it, but I have my grave doubts as to its wisdom.

Mr. VAIL. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Peterson.

Mr. PETERSON. Mr. Hoover, in the course of certain investigations you have run into some weaknesses in existing law, though, haven't you?

Mr. HOOVER. That is very true.

Mr. PETERSON. I refer particularly to the case in which the Supreme Court turned loose the man who had assisted in making contact between the German agents.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct.

Mr. PETERSON. And keeping money for him.

Mr. HOOVER. Yes.

Mr. PETERSON. The Supreme Court said that——

Mr. HOOVER. I think that is the Heine case, yes.

Mr. PETERSON (continuing). Did not constitute espionage.

Mr. HOOVER. That is true.

Mr. PETERSON. Because of the strict evidence required in espionage cases.

Mr. HOOVER. Correct.

Mr. PETERSON. They further pointed out, in that particular case, that there was a border line or a shadow line in which acts could be a violation of the law and might be of a treasonable nature, if not actual treason, but as to which Congress had not yet acted.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct. I very strongly feel that that particular hole should be plugged.

In that particular case, this man did gather information, and gathered it for the purpose of sending it to a foreign government that was at war with the United States, and yet it was held by the Supreme Court that because the information was not classified information he had not violated the law.

I think any foreign agent who gathers any kind of information to be sent to a country with which we are at war or has purposes that may be detrimental to our own interests ought to be able to be prosecuted under our laws. That is not possible as the law now stands.

Mr. PETERSON. The Court pointed out in that case that Congress hasn't acted in that field.

Mr. HOOVER. That is correct. It would have to be amended, by legislation.

Mr. PETERSON. The crime of treason is of course the highest crime and requires the highest degree of proof.

Mr. HOOVER. Very technical proof.

Mr. PETERSON. Thank you very much.

I join with what my colleagues said about the fine presentation you have made. Of course, I have known of your fine work of this kind for a number of years, and we are quite proud of the work you have done.

Mr. HOOVER. Thank you, Mr. Peterson.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Bonner.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Hoover, since VE-day and VJ-day, we have had some terrible catastrophes—railroad wrecks and all sorts of fires—ship fires and hotel fires. Could it be assumed that they have any connection with the communistic movement in this country?

Mr. HOOVER. So far as any information which we have, that assumption could not be reached.

Of course, our investigations are usually confined to the railroad wrecks, where the Interstate Commerce Act comes in. We have certain jurisdiction. We do not investigate the fires in hotels and things of that kind.

But, so far as we have been able to find, either directly or indirectly, there is no connection between these catastrophes and any Communist activities at the present time.

Mr. BONNER. Have there been unusually more during this period than the statistics show in other periods?

Mr. HOOVER. I haven't any statistics before me, but I would think we have had probably more train wrecks, and I think that might be due to the condition of the equipment and the failure to be able to obtain new equipment and repairs that are necessary. There is no indication that we have been able to find that any individual or groups of individuals, either Communist or otherwise, have been responsible for some of these catastrophes that you mentioned.

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Hoover, I am very proud of your record.

I admire you personally as a man, and I appreciate the great service you have rendered and are rendering this country.

Mr. HOOVER. Thank you very much, Mr. Congressman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Hoover, we deeply appreciate your coming here today, and we certainly hope that it hasn't interfered with your work.

Mr. HOOVER. Thank you.

The CHAIRMAN. Before you leave, I just want to make one announcement, and that is that we have another witness here this afternoon, a very good friend of this committee. She says that she just wants to take a little time, and we want very much to hear her.

Thank you, Mr. Hoover.

Mr. HOOVER. Thank you very much.